

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 121441Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8626

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 04048

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OTRA, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), WB, GW

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO WEST BERLIN

REF: STATE 53924

1. AS REGARDS FORUM, THE BERLIN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SEEMS MOST APPROPRIATE AS THE BROADEST POLITICAL AND PUBLIC BASE FOR A POSSIBLE SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, WISH TO HAVE USBER'S COMMENTS ON THIS POINT.
2. THE BASIC APPROACH OF RELATING THE BERLIN SITUATION TO THE BROADER FRAMEWORK OF DETENTE SEEMS HIGHLY OP-
PORTUNE, AND WE ENDORSE IT. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER USING SOME OF THE FOLLOWING THEMES IN THIS CONNECTION.
3. BERLIN IS A SYMBOL OF DIFFERENT THINGS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE. IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE SECOND WORLD WAR IT BECAME THE CLASSICAL LOCUS OF CONFLICT OF INTERESTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. ON OCCASION IT WAS THE SCENE OF POLITICAL AND PHYSICAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN TWO SYSTEMS WHOSE INTERESTS OFTEN SEEMED IRRECONCILABLE. WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME THE DISADVANTAGES AND RISKS OF THIS SITUATION OF TENSION BECAME MORE APPARENT TO BOTH

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SIDES. EFFORTS WERE SET IN MOTION TO DIMINISH THE

TENSIONS. THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 1971 WAS THE OUTCOME OF THESE EFFORTS AND PART OF A LARGER PATTERN OF REDUCING TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST GENERALLY. IT IS APPROPRIATE TO CONSIDER THE SITUATION THAT HAS ARISEN SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY THE LESSONS THAT MAY BE OFFERED FOR THE FUTURE. THE ESSENCE OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT WAS COMPROMISE AND BALANCE OF INTERESTS AMONG THE PARTIES. NEITHER SIDE ACCOMPLISHED ITS MAXIMUM OBJECTIVES. RATHER, THERE WAS ACCEPTANCE OF THE REALIZATION THAT PURSUIT OF MAXIMUM OBJECTIVES WAS BOTH UNREALISTIC AND DANGEROUS. THIS IS THE KEY LESSON AS WE TRY TO LOOK INTO THE FUTURE, SPECIFICALLY THE FUTURE OF BERLIN. THE PURSUIT OF ONE-SIDED ADVANTAGE CANNOT BE FRUITFUL. PRUDENCE DICTATES DUE REGARD FOR THE REALITIES OF A COMPLICATED SITUATION. THE REALITIES ON BOTH SIDES MUST BE BORNE IN MIND. ONE BASIC REALITY ON THE WESTERN SIDE IS THE DEEP COMMITMENT OF THE THREE ALLIED POWERS TO BERLIN

THE US COMMITMENT HARDLY NEEDS DOCUMENTATION. IT IS A MATTER OF HISTORIC RECORD AND POLITICAL FACT. ANOTHER REALITY IS THE ORGANIC TIES THAT EXIST BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. IT WOULD BE IMPRUDENT TO ASSUME THAT THE FUTURE WILL NOT BRING WITH IT DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING BERLIN. BUT IT WOULD SEEM MORE APPROPRIATE TO DWELL ON THE POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED AND

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THE CONSTRUCTIVE POSSIBILITIES. IT HAS PROVED POSSIBLE, THROUGH CAREFUL, RESPONSIBLE NEGOTIATION AND, IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED, DUE REGARD FOR THE VIEWS OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED, TO REMOVE SOME, BUT BY NO MEANS ALL, THE HARSHER FEATURES OF A SITUATION OF CONFRONTATION. THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ACHIEVEMENT SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED. IT SHOULD PROVE POSSIBLE TO GO FORWARD FROM THIS BASE TO FURTHER EFFORTS TO ADJUST CONFLICTING VIEWS AND INTERESTS. IN THIS PROCESS, IT IS HOPED, IN PARTICULAR, THAT THE HUMAN SITUATION OF THE POPULATION OF BERLIN CAN BE FURTHER IMPROVED.

4. THE PITCH OF THE ABOVE IS DELIBERATELY RESTRAINED AND BALANCED. AT THE SAME TIME, IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT PRONOUNCEMENTS BY TOP LEVEL US GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN BERLIN ARE EXPECTED, BY BERLINERS AT LEAST, BUT ALSO BY GERMANS GENERALLY, TO STRIKE A SOMEWHAT MORE MILITANT NOTE TOWARD THE EAST. A STATEMENT ON THE LINES WE HAVE SUGGESTED MIGHT SEEM TO BERLINERS AND GERMANS, EAST AND WEST ALIKE, TO FALL WELL SHORT OF THE RECORD OF THE PAST. THIS CONSIDERATION SHOULD NOT BE OVERLOOKED, YET IT WOULD SEEM TO CORRESPOND MORE CLOSELY WITH US NATIONAL POLICY, INTEREST, AND INTENT TO STRESS THE NEED FOR BALANCE OF INTEREST AND COMPROMISE. IN THIS SENSE, TWO AUDIENCES WOULD BASICALLY BE ADDRESSED. THE EAST WOULD BE PUT ON NOTICE THAT IT SHOULD NOT TRY TO PUSH
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HARD ON A TOO RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATION OF THE QA, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS WEST BERLIN'S TIES WITH THE FRG. AT THE SAME TIME, BONN WOULD ALSO BE REMINDED THAT IT CANNOT REALISTICALLY EXPECT TO PRESS FOR TOO BROAD AN INTERPRETATION, AND CANNOT COUNT ON THE UNRESERVED SUPPORT OF THE THREE POWERS IF IT SHOULD TRY TO DO SO. OVERALL, OF COURSE, THERE IS NEED TO REAFFIRM THE US COMMITMENT TO BERLIN. WHILE THIS MAY OFTEN SEEM TO BE IN THE NATURE OF RITUAL SATISFACTION OF A GERMAN NEED, IT HAS LOST NONE OF ITS POLITICAL MEANING, THE QA AND OTHER HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS NOTWITHSTANDING.
HILLENBRAND

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